

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOGADI 00927 080556Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-07 SCA-01 IO-13 INT-05 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 FEA-01
NSC-05 TRSE-00 USIA-06 /086 W
-----080611Z 109608 /20

R 071055Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4936

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOGADISCIO 0927

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAS: PFOR, XA
SUBJ: 1977 PARM SUBMISSION - AMBASSADOR'S OVERVIEW

1. FUNDAMENAL TO AN OVERVIEW OF SOMALIA IS THE NECESSITY TO UNDERSTAND

WHO THE SOMALIS ARE AND WHAT THEY WANT. DERIVED FROM HMATIC/SEMITIC
ARAB ORIGINS AND INFLUENCED BY ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATIONS, THE
SOMALIS HAVE EVOLVED OVER NINE CENTURIES IN THE CRICIBLE OF A HOSTILE,

SOMETIMES BARREN LAND WHOSE STINGY RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE ONLY THROUGH

TOUGH, DISCIPLINED EFFORT, GUILF AND MANIPULATION. THE NOMADIC HERITAGE

HAS LEFT ITS MARK ON A PEOPLE WHO SUSPECT EVERYONE BEYOND THE PALE OF
THE HERD'S BOUNDARIES AND ARE PREPARED TO GIVE THEIR TRUST ONLY TO THE

CLOSEST OF KIND. ALL OF THESE TRAITS HAVE BEEN AMPLY DISPLAYED IN THEIR

LEADERSHIP OVER THE YEARS. PRESIDENT SIAD BARRE, FOR EXAMPLE, IS CAPABLE

OF DEMONSTRATING THE MANIPULATIVE HABIT OF SOMALIS TO A QUINTESSENTIAL

DEGREE. INDEED, THE PRESENT CONSTERNATION OF SOMALIS OVER THE DIRECTION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOGADI 00927 080556Z

IN WHICH THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION SEEMS TO HAVE TURNED IS

DUE IN LARGE MEASURE TO THE TRAUMA THEY ARE NOW EXPERIENCING IN
REALIZING THEIR IMPOTANCE WITH THE SOVIETS.

2. THE MOST SACRED OF SOMALI DREAMS REMAINS THE ANCIENT ONE OF

UNIFYING SOMALIS IN THE OGADEN, DJIBOUTI AND THE NORTHEAST FRONTIER AREA OF KENYA, UNDER ONE FLAG. THIS IS PARAMOUNT AND FORMS THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES OF SOMALI POLICY. A SECOND AND ESSENTIAL AIM OF THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP IS TO SEDENTARIZE AND MODERNIZE A LARGELY NOMADIC SOCIETY. FINALLY, SOMALI PRIDE DEMANDS THAT THE NATION PLAY A LARGER ROLE IN REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. TO A LARGE EXTENT, THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP BELIEVED IT COULD ACHIEVE THESE AIMS THROUGH THE SOVIET CONNECTION.

3. NOW, AS IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, THE CRUCIAL FACTORS OF SOMALIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS ARE ITS LONG STANDING ENMITY WITH ETHIOPIA, ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS GEOPOLITICAL LOCATION ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, WITH THE LONGEST COAST LINES IN EAST AFRICA, DEEP WATER PORTS NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE RED SEA THROUGH WHICH MUCH OF THE OIL TO WESTERN EUROPE FLOWS BY TANKERS AND ITS PROXIMITY TO THE SAUDI ARABIAN PENINSULA. SHORT OF A RAPPROACHMENT WITH ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO JUDGE ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES ON THE BASIS OF ITS OWN RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA. US POLICY IN "THE HORN OF AFRICA" HAS Fallen VICTIM OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS TO THIS IRON LAW WHICH HAS GOVERNED RELATIONS BETWEEN SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA AND MAJOR THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. AS A RESULT OF ITS DESIRE TO MOVE CLOSER TO ETHIOPIA, THE USSR HAS ALSO RUN AFOUL OF THIS PRINCIPLE. UNLESS THERE IS A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA -- THE OGADEN AND DJIBOUTI -- ANY MAJOR STATE WHICH SEEKS TO DEVELOP CLOSE RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA WILL HAVE TO RECKON WITH THIS BASIC FACTOR OF SOMALI EXTERNAL RELATIONS. THE CLOSE ALLIANCE SOMALIA HAS DEVELOPED WITH THE USSR OVER THE PAST DECADE HAS BROUGHT CONSEQUENCES FOR THOSE STATES SEEKING TO DEVELOP CLOSE RELATIONS WITH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOGADI 00927 080556Z

SOMALIA. THE SOVIET INFLUENCE ON SOMALI DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE CONTROL MECHANISM OF THE SECURITY APPARATUS, MAY VERY WELL SURVIVE LONG AFTER OTHER SOVIET INFLUENCE HAS WANED. WITHIN THE SOMALI SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT, THERE HAVE BEEN MANY GROUPS WHO HAVE WISHED TO EXERCISE A GREATER INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION BUT HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVELY CHECKED IN THE CONSUMPTION OF THESE DESIRES BY THE SECURITY APPARATUS, AN APPARATUS WHICH AT TIMES SEEMS TO EXIST INDEPENDENTLY OF THE SIAD BARRE GOVERNMENT AND WHICH, IN SOME INSTANCES, APPEARS TO CONSTITUTE A SECOND GOVERNMENT OF ITS OWN. AS LONG AS VESTIGES OF THIS APPARATUS SURVIVE IN SOMALIA, THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WESTERN-ORIENTED AND MODERATE GOVERNMENTS ARE LIKELY TO HAVE DIFFICULTY ESTABLISHING MUTUAL TRUST WITH THE SOMALIS, A QUALITY ESSENTIAL TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF GOOD, SOUND RELATIONS.

4. BASED ON THE POLICY POSTURE THAT THE US CAN HOPE TO SUSTAIN IN SOMALIA IS AN UNDERSTANDING OF US INTEREST IN SOMALIA, THE UNITED STATES HAS NO SPECIAL ETHNIC OR CULTURAL TIES WITH SOMALIA. IT HAS NO OVERRIDING STRATEGIC INTERESTS. IN THE FACE OF SUCH PARAMETERS, US

POSTURE SHOULD BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED SO THAT IT CAN COMMAND LONG TERM PUBLIC SUPPORT. THIS IS ESSENTIAL, NOT ONLY FOR THE SAKE OF MAINTAINING CONTINUITY AND INTEGRITY OF OUR POLICY BUT ALSO FOR THE SAKE OF MAINTAINING A STEADY AND CREDIBLE RELATIONSHIP WITH SOMALIA. THE SOMALI GOVT HAS RECENTLY AGONIZED AT SEEING ITS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION START TO DISSOLVE AS THE SOVIETS HAVE BEGUN AN OPEN FLIRTATION WITH HER HISTORIC, ARCH ENEMY ETHIOPIA. THEY SUFFERED A MILD SHOCK EARLIER WHEN US ASSISTANCE WAS SUMMARILY WITHDRAWN IN THE LATE 1960S. WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL TO AVOID CREATING THE IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE WILLING TO ENTER INTO A RELATIONSHIP WITH SOMALIA THAT ALIGNS IT AGAINST OTHER STATES IN WHICH WE HAVE INTERESTS, OR IN DEVELOPING A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP IN THE FACE OF PUBLICLY DECLARED DIFFERENCES OF PHILOSOPHY AND WORLD VIEWS. WE MUST BE AWARE THAT SOMALIA HAS NOT RENOUNCED ITS CLAIM TO THE DISPUTED TERRITORIES OF THE OGADEN, DJIBOUTI AND NORTH SOMALIA AND AT THIS TIME IS ACTIVELY SEEKING TO EXPAND ITS CONTROL OVER THESE TERRITORIES. HISTORICALLY, THE APPROACH TO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOGADI 00927 080556Z

SOMALIA HAS BEEN BASICALLY THE ONE IT HAS SUGGESTED WITH OTHER THIRD WORLD, DEVELOPING NATIONS. WE HAVE IN THE PAST ATTEMPTED TO ASSIST SOMALIA IN MODERNIZING ITS SOCIETY AND DEVELOPING ITS ECONOMY. WE SHOULD MAKE PLAIN TO SOMALIS THAT AS CONSTRAINTS TO OUR IMPROVED RELATIONS DISSOLVE, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR CURRENT ABILITIES TO RESUME THIS RELATIONSHIP. IN THE DEFENSE SPHERE, THIS IMPLIES LIMITING ANY FUTURE US CONTRIBUTION TO SOMALI DEFENSE FORCES TO THE NORMAL REQUIREMENTS OF A COUNTRY OF THREE AND ONE HALF MILLION.

5. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT OUR WESTERN ALLIES AND MODERATE ARAB STATES HAVE A MUCH MORE DIRECT INTEREST IN SOMALIA THAN DOES THE US. WESTERN EUROPE DEPENDS ON THE SHIPMENT OF OIL FROM THE GULF AND THE SAUDI PENINSULA THROUGH THE RED SEA, WHOSE SOUTHERN APPROACHES VERGE CLOSELY ON SOMALI TERRITORY AND DJIBOUTI. THE MODERATE ARAB STATES LIKE SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT, THE UDA, NORTH YEMEN AND, TO SOME EXTENT, SYRIA HAVE AN EVEN MORE DIRECT INTEREST IN REDUCING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN "THE HORN OF AFRICA". WE SHOULD THEREFORE ACTIVELY PERSUADE THE WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND THE MODERATE ARAB STATES TO MORE CLOSELY CONSULT AND COORDINATE THEIR POLICIES IN THE REGION AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH THE UNITED STATES.

LOUGHRAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, AGREEMENTS, PARM REPORTS, POLITICAL SUMMARIES, DOUBLE TAXATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 07-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MOGADI00927
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770203-0911
Format: TEL
From: MOGADISCIO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770683/aaaacuw.b.tcl
Line Count: 161
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0e9abf83-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2250108
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: 1977 PARM SUBMISSION - AMBASSADOR'S OVERVIEW
TAGS: PFOR, EFIN, XA, XW, SO, FT, ET, UR, MO, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0e9abf83-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009